184 643 [173] from uncle to nephew, and two from second cousin to second cousin. The matriarchal custom was not followed, but we know from traditions gathered among the Ioullimmiden that at the election of Our Ilmet, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, the Tuareg fought among themselves about the custom of succession, and the party which backed Our Ilmet, the patriarchal candidate, finally won out. (1)

1. Dr. Richer, Les Oulliminden.

171 611 631 As we have already remarked and as Seligman has pointed out, it is seen that in spite of the fact that descent is matrilinear (except among the Ioullimmiden), the government of each unit is patriarchal and similar in principal to that in a nomadic Arab tribe. (2)

2. Les races de l'Afrique /The Races of Africa/, p. 128.

643 651 The amenokal does not hold his appointment for life, and the titleholder may be dispossessed by a more popular chief for one reason or another. Each year he levies a tribute on each fraction, either in the form of foods, grains, butter, animals, servants, or in skins and worked objects. The caravans pay him a tithe as a toll. [644] He receives the products of certain lands and herds which are his appanage. In exchange, he must maintain the members of his entourage and the relatives of his predecessor.

[178] [644] There was formerly a custom among the northern Tuareg, /156/ today fallen into disuse, which was called the right of tamaa. It benefited the eventual heir to the command and consisted of a due from the tributes payed by the vassals. This custom was still in use a little less than a century ago.

643 [534] [177] 192 The amenokal's symbol of leadership is an enormous war drum called tobol; this word is of Arabic origin and means "drum," "cylinder of a drum."

578 643 692 to arrogate rights over vassals for themselves. There are internal disputes of the sort: "Who made you a count? And who made you king?"

643 It is particularly in the relations with neighboring or foreign tribes that the aménokal's role takes on a more national aspect, yet his decisions do not have full authority unless they have been approved by an assembly of notables -- the arollan -- composed of the principal chiefs of fractions and nobles.

/157/ The aménokal lives like the other Tuareg, and there is no ceremony surrounding his person. All comers present themselves [644] at his tent with no more formality than that. There is no court or court etiquette.

● 534 Only the tobol, generally placed at the entrance to the tent, indicates the rank of the host.

643 This drum is in the shape of a hemisphere, hollowed out of a tree trunk and covered with a cowhide with the hair still on it. The hide is held by leather thongs with the hairy side up. It may be as much as 80 centimeters in diameter. Two leather handles on the sides are used to carry it. For gatherings, two men strike it alternately with a camelskin drumstick (imîtkar). Only the aménokal has the right to have it sounded, which he does only on the most important occasions. Upon his death, his brother or his caliph is entrusted with it until it can be given to his successor. The aménokal does not go [492] far without his drum, which is carried on a camel led by a trusted man; when he gives the order to beat the drum, another meharist /man mounted on a mehari, or fast dromedary/ approaches to take the other handle, and the two men march side by side, striking alternately. Any warrior who hears it is supposed to rally to the call and at the same time inform the people he meets. In case of war, [202] the beating tells whether they are dealing with foot soldiers or meharists, depending on whether there are one or two imîtkar.

[554] When the hide of the tobol is worn out, the most renowned warrior of the tribe is entrusted to replace it.

643 The aménokal generally has one or two caliphs charged with taking
644 his place or representing him with the fractions.

The amrar. -- Each tribe, called taousit, has its amrar, who,
631 like the aménokal, is chosen according to matriarchal rules.

Amrar, in Tamashek,
[192] means "the old," "the respectable," "the ancient," /158/ and by extension,
[643 "possessor of wisdom." It is
534] the equivalent of the Arab word "sheik."

Fig. 16. The tobol, symbol of the aménokal's command, with its "imîtkar."

The amrar is the intermediary between the people of his tribe and the aménokal. He transmits orders from the latter and sees that they are carried out. He collects the tioussé intended for the aménokal from the Imrad and sets the share that each is to pay. He settles minor disputes between the people of his tribe and fixes the pasturing zone to be used by each camp.

He takes part in the vote which sanctions the election of the aménokal and at the arollan, which discusses major decisions concerning the life of the confederation.

In a confederation subject to an aménokal, a grouping which the Ahaggar Tuareg also call tégéhé, there may be several tobol, that is, several suzerain tribes, each with its vassals. The name taousit, making double use of the word for tribe, is sometimes used to designate the whole whose chief also bears the name of amrar among the Iḥaggaren and agoalla among the Kel Aïr /Asben/.

The amrar has no characteristic symbol of command, at least
[171] among the Iḥaggaren. In certain Sudanese tribes, many formerly had a drum analogous to that of the aménokal.

565 The Imochar. -- The Imochar (singular, Amacher) form the
192 aristocratic class. This word means "man of dominant stock

881 From this day on the boy enters into the class of men. He
884 may go to war and attend the ahal.

868 Education of girls is hardly more interesting. At six or seven, the little girl begins to see to household duties, participating in cleaning the tent and making meals, etc. 'A little later she learns to weave mats, work little copper articles, and spin goat hair.

[534] Musical and literary education for young girls is very much esteemed among the Tuareg and [212] most particularly among the Imochar. Little girls learn to write tifinagh letters and play the amzad, a sort of small one-stringed violin which brightens up the dull evenings of the Tuareg.

Fig. 53. Amzad, or one-stringed violin of Ahaggar Tuareg women, and its bow.

534 The amzad is made
237 of half a hollowed-out and dried gourd, over which a goatskin or uran /lizard/ skin has been stretched, attached by cords (in the Ahaggar) or little acacia thorns (in the Air). The skin is pierced by one or two holes to increase the resonance. The handle is made of a stick which penetrates into one side of the gourd through a hole and is secured at the other side by a point, or else it may go through that side too. The string is formed of several pieces of horsehair separated from the skin by a little bridge made of two small pieces of wood tied together crosswise. The bow (taganhé) forms an arc with

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[287] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
[171] much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
571 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
521 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote, 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the latest major episodes in a general southwestward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

The military administrative unit known as the *Amexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabitants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

Social Organization. The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] *A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

† Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

‡ A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 [177] For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen [434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the /Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition. 462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con- 533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig*. Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men- [170] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 [177] The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⵓⵎ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⴻⵔⵀⵉ , which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⵜⵎⵣⴷ , an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵜⵣⵉⵓ , as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeṭhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⴻⵟⵀⴻ , made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵍ , plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴻⵏ.

/7/

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" عار, not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 534 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela." 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

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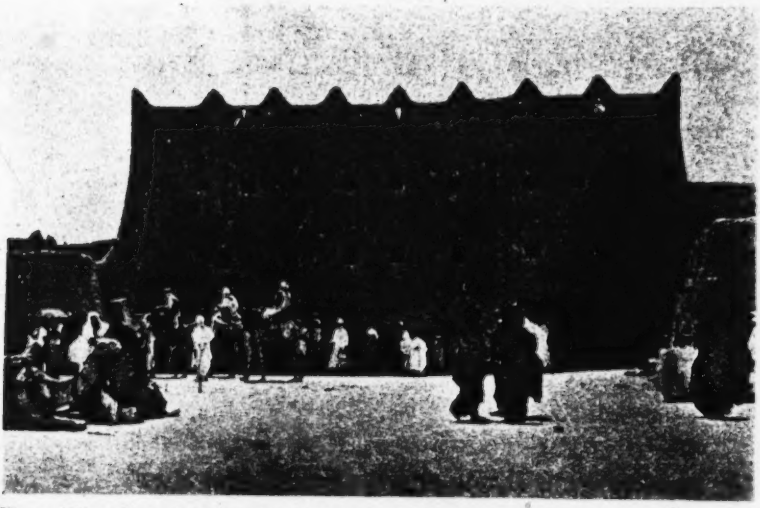

[533] Fig. 4.--The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 565 631 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 643 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permission was given by the Kel Ouui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more [114] detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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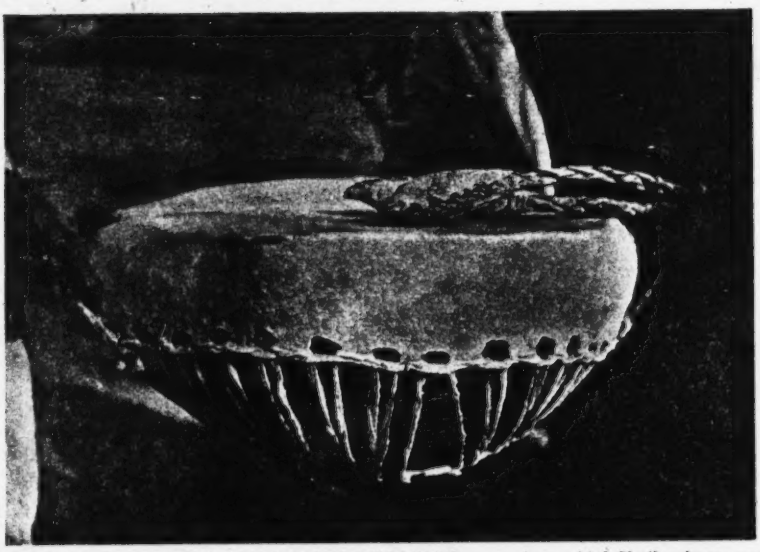

Fig. 6.–The drum which is the only insignia of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief. Similar drums are found in all Tuareg groups.

614 past, as nowadays, the proper successor to chieftainship was the deceased chief's son. This rule of succession is no doubt due to Islamic influence which, as mentioned, [174] has introduced patrilineal succession among the Ioullemmeden Tuareg and also in various clans of the religious class of *Ineslemen* (sing. *Aneslem*). I think there can be no doubt that succession among the Air Tuareg was originally matrilineal and that most possibly a sister's son was considered the proper successor to chieftainship.

The Political System of the Kel Ferouan.

634 The important noble clans of the Kel Ferouan drum-group, namely the true Kel [614] Ferouan (or Iraouatten) and the Kel Azel, are said to be matrilineally related, as [173] the ancestress of the Kel Azel was a woman of the Kel Ferouan clan. She married, tradition says, an Arab who was killed at her own request.

The chief of the noble Kel Ferouan clan had the only drum of the whole group [202] of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal clans but also by the noble Kel Azel. 778 The drum, which may still be seen in the camp of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief, is 534 made of wood and covered with skin (fig. 6). It is believed that it has a mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced the man charged with this task would do it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
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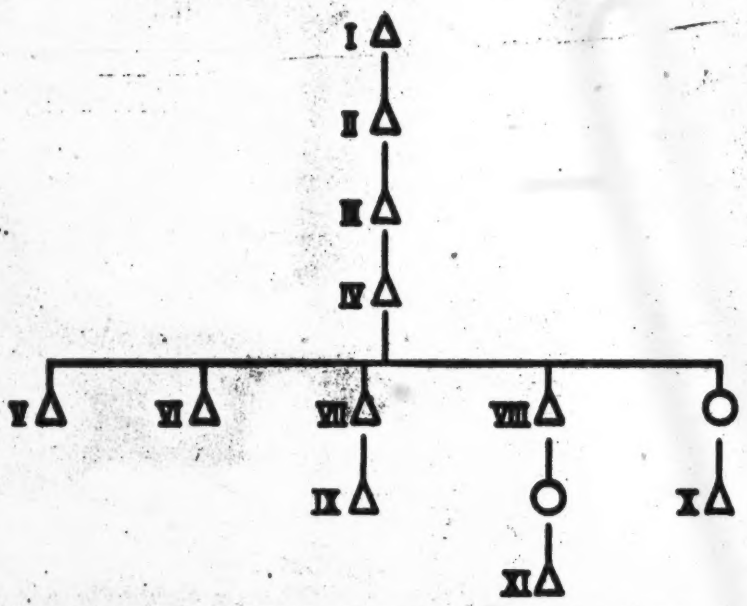

Fig. 7.–Succession of drum-chiefs in the small drum-group of Echchikhen living in Damergou south of the Air Massif.

blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. 778 534

Matrilineally related to the Kel Ferouan are also the Echchikhen clan of Damergou, as its ancestress was a noble woman from the Kel Ferouan. But patrilineally the Echchikhen seem to be related to Iforas Tuareg of religious status. The chief of the Echchikhen has a drum of his own as he has the right over a few vassal clans of Damergou, namely the Imasoren, Khamedan, Ekanaouen, and Iraouelen – clans said to be poor and in part subsisting as hunters. Among the Echchikhen I was able to collect a list of drumchiefs who have been chosen mainly according to the patrilineal principle (fig. 7). A new chief of the drum-group had just been elected, and he had no ties of kinship with the Echchikhen. He belonged to the Kel Geres group, and the prominent noble Echchikhen Tuareg were very sorry and infuriated about his election, as they wanted a man from their own clan to take over the leadership of the whole drum-group. But they could do nothing about it as the chief can be elected only by his vassals. 634 [614]

This same principle is and was valid for the election of drum-chiefs in the Kel Ferouan group – they have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, who after the French occupation have also elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble Kel Ferouan clan. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble Kel Ferouan unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their [177] 173 634

836 /141 cont./ as are the other customs; there is one very
864 interesting one, the respect for the Tuareg girl. Contrary to a commonly held opinion, the young girl about to be married is always a virgin (physically) among the nobles and nearly always one among the imrads.

839 In their first youth, the Tuareg behave as do all the children of the world; they practice solitary masturbation, girls and boys using procedures characteristic of the country.
786 The first amorous relations between Tuareg girls and boys take place after celebrations. It is well to describe these celebrations, for accounts of the famous "courts of love" have been much exaggerated.

We have seen that the Tuareg organize a tendi on the
•[534] occasion of a family ceremony. The tendi takes its name from the instrument used, the large wooden mortar over which is stretched a skin which has been dampened previously. The women gather around the tendi, and one or two beat out traditional rhythms on the skin, which resonates dully. One of the women chants an endless series of couplets while her companions mark the measure by clapping hands and take up the refrain in chorus. The songs evoke past combats as well as recent events; they vaunt the merits of a camel or those of a person; some are improvised. Widows, divorced women, and young girls take part in the tendi, but married women, with the permission of their husbands, also go. A woman leaves the tendi if one of her parents approaches it.

The songs continue, accompanied by the tom-tom; the men then come to sit behind the singers, listen, and also sing. Each hugs his female companion next to him, but hardly passes the limits of a public flirtation. The tendi continues late into the night while the old people sleep in the tents.

526 In the daytime the tendi is the indispensable accompaniment of the ilougan, which may be defined as "a tournament on camel back."

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

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46. The imzad.

[P. 234]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akrolal*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*akakar*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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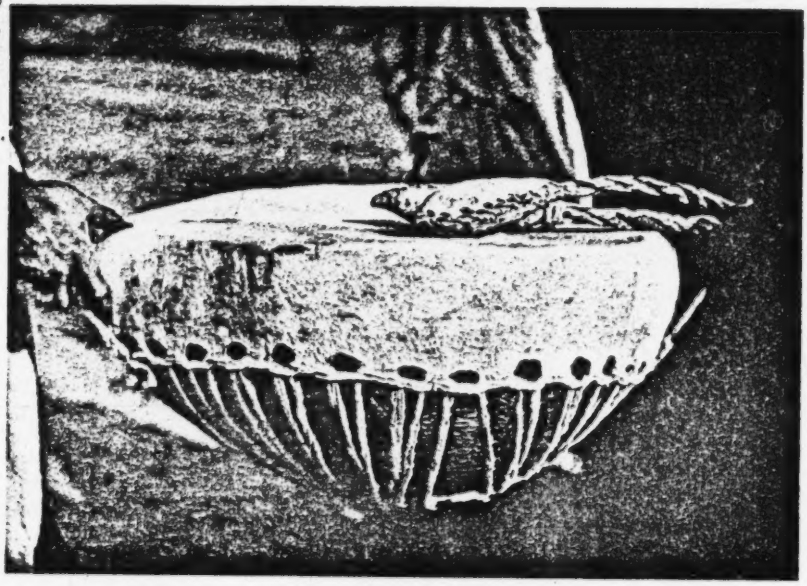

Fig. 285. The drum (*ettebel*) which is the only insignia of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. Similar drums are found in other Tuareg groups.

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as the *Ikadeyen* had no vassals and its members had apparently then as now a rather subordinate position compared with other noble Tuareg. The noble tribe named *Kel-ahem-mellen*, which to-day is of little importance and not very numerous, with some of its members settled in the oasis of Inṛer in Tidikelt, seems to have had certain *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes as its particular vassals, but they were later placed under the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet*. The *Iseḳḳemaren*, as we shall see below, had a political status somewhat different from that of the true vassals known to the Northern Tuareg as *Kel Ülli* or *Imṛad*. The division of the vassals of this group during the reign of *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir* between the three noble tribes of *Kel Ṛela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Téġehé Mellet* is most interesting. When the vassals were divided between the three noble units it led to a division of some of the vassal tribes. Thus the *Ayt Lowayen* was divided into two between the *Kel Ṛela* and the *Téġehé Mellet* while the tribe known as *Imessiliten* was divided into the *Dag Ṛali* for the *Kel Ṛela*, and the *Kel Ahnet* for the *Taytoḳ*. It would have been easier to divide the vassals without splitting their tribes, but we may perhaps suggest that the tribes were split because they were already divided into groups of individual vassals under those who became independent noble tribes. When the division of vassals took place in the 18th century most went to the *Kel Ṛela*, but quite a number of tribes was also allotted to the *Taytoḳ*, while the *Téġehé Mellet* tribe received so few that it could never become politically important.

When the vassals were divided between the *Kel Ṛela*, the *Taytoḳ*, and the *Téġehé Mellet* these noble tribes became united into a sort of federation known as *téġehé*. The three tribes with their vassals formed so-called drum-groups or *eṭṭebelen* (sing. *eṭṭebel*) with chiefs who had as their insignia a large drum known as *eṭṭebel*. It was endowed with a particular mystic power; it should not be allowed to touch the ground and when the drum skin was worn, it had to be replaced by a famed warrior. The drum must be obeyed when beaten by the drum-chief to summon his subjects. The drum-chief was the supreme political and judical authority of a drum-group, and he could organize raids and wage war upon other groups. He also collected certain annual payments from his particular vassals. This was true of the chiefs of all three drum-groups in Ahaggar. But within the federation of drum-groups that of the *Kel Ṛela* held a prominent position. The drum-chiefs of the two other groups, the *Taytoḳ* and the *Téġehé Mellet*, only possessed the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaṛen*), which word is that generally used for a chief among the *Kel Ahaggar*, while the chief of the *Kel Ṛela* drum-group had the title of *Amenukal* as the chief of the whole *téġehé* federation. Within every drum-group the drum-chief would ceremoniously install all chiefs of vassal tribes but the two drum-chiefs of *Taytoḳ* and *Téġehé Mellet* were installed by the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Ṛela* group. The *Amenukal* himself was installed in his office by a Tuareg from one of the *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes of his own drum-group. When the *Amenukal* was installed, which ceremony nowadays takes place at Tamanṛaset, a Tuareg of the *Iseḳḳemaren* class provided him with a large head-cloth. The installment ceremony, which is preserved to this day, was and is the same for any chief among the Ahaggar Tuareg. When a drum-chief was to install a vassal chief, the ceremony took place in the camp of the drum-chief, and when the *Amenukal* had to install drum-chiefs of the two other groups the installation took place in the *Amenukal*'s camp.

The supreme position of the *Amenukal* appears from the rules governing the installation of chiefs, but as already mentioned, the *Amenukal* could not concern himself in all matters of the two other

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

631 true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas
634 the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak
643 disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him
[178] openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

643 There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning
642 of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

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Kel Ewey	50 Tuareg veils of indigo cotton
Kel Faday	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Echchikhen	two small drum-groups in Damergu each giving 3 oryx hides, as their vassals were mainly hunters
Kel Geres	1 horse with a saddle
Kel Dennek of the *Iwllemmeden*	1 she-camel, 1 riding camel
Kel Allekot	150 kg of millet
Damergu & Katsena	An amount of millet

Most of these groups, it is said, paid the annual tribute known as *tewsé* because the land belonged to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. But the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg did not pay an annual tribute for this reason but because they were subdued in wars. It is much to be doubted that these annual tributes were paid regularly to the drum-chief by such warlike groups as the *Kel Dennek* and the *Kel Faday*, who frequently joined forces against the *Kel Ferwan*. As to the *Kel Faday*, the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg claim that they were formerly the vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They say that in the remote past the whole drum-group of the *Kel Faday*, including its noble tribe, paid bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief as a token of vassalage, which is said to have ceased in the following way:— The *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief once sent a blacksmith to a *Kel Faday* camp to claim a camel as his part of the bride-wealth from a marriage. But the newly-married man refused to give the camel and furthermore showed his contempt for the drum-chief by cutting off both ears of the blacksmith's riding camel. The blacksmith then returned to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief who became furious at this act. The chief immediately decided to go to the camp to take the bride-wealth camel himself. When he arrived in the *Kel Faday* camp a battle developed which was lost by the drum-chief, who had underrated the strength of the *Kel Faday*. He was badly wounded in one leg, but was taken well care of by the *Kel Faday* so that after a time he could return to his own camp. Since then, it is told, the *Kel Faday* Tuareg have not paid any bride-wealth to the *Kel Ferwan*.

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The drum-chief had as an insignia of his political power over all *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg a large drum known as *ettebel* (or *aṛezu*). The word *ettebel* was, and is, used not only as a name of the drum but also as a name of the drum-group and the drum-chief whose title of address is *ettebel*, or "drum". This drum had a sacred or mystic power. Therefore, when the skin was worn and had to be replaced, the man charged with this task would perform it looking away from the drum lest he might be struck blind. It is also said that the drum must never come into contact with soil or water, and that it must never be touched by women. We see that connected with the drum were certain taboos equivalent to those which are believed to maintain the mystic power of *elbaraka*.

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[814]
The drum-chief had the only drum of the *Kel Ferwan* group of which he was the supreme chief. The drum followed him on journeys, and there were various signals used to summon his subjects. It is said that these signals should be obeyed not only by members of all vassal tribes but also by the noble *Kel Azel*. The chief of the *Kel Azel* had the title of *amṛar* or *aṛolla* like all other tribal chiefs, but he was addressed *ettebel* although he did not have the right to a drum.

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the *Al-Ḳadi*. In this respect the position of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is similar to that of drum-chiefs among the Ayr Tuareg, and though the present drum-chief says that the *Kel Geres* were never divided into noble and vassal tribes, he nevertheless claims that part of any war-booty taken by *Kel Geres* Tuareg in the past should be given to the drum-chief who had the right to *témaggedaz* and *téwit* (cf. p. 428). The drum (*ettebel*) of the *Kel Geres* drum-chief is akin to drums of other Tuareg chiefs. The drum must not touch the ground, but the drum-chief did not believe that its power would be spoilt were it to be touched by women.

THE KEL ADRAR

The *Kel Adrar* are very superficially described in literature, but their political system has been outlined by Cortier. They constitute only one drum-group under the leadership of an *Amenukal* who is the possessor of the drum (*ettebel*). The class-division is rather similar to that of most other Tuareg groups. There are certain vassal tribes (*Imrad*) and certain noble tribes though the latter are not considered noble in the usual sense. They are known as proper *Iforas* Tuareg and they are to be grouped rather with the *Ineslemen* class than with the proper noble class termed *Ihaggaren* or *Imajeren*. However, their position within the drum-group is almost identical with that of noble Tuareg in other groups. The *Amenukal* is elected according to patrilineal rules being succeeded by his younger brothers and next by his sons, but the vassal tribes do not participate in the election. Within the drum-group there are many smaller divisions of noble families who have their individual vassals, so that from any vassal tribe there are always certain families living in the camp of a noble lord to work for him and to guard his domestic animals. A noble Tuareg can also claim what he wants from his particular vassals while on the other hand the vassals do not pay any fixed tribute to the noble chiefs, not even to the *Amenukal*. The power of the *Amenukal* is a very limited one, and his position is mainly determined by his personal qualities (cf. Cortier 1908, p. 274 ff.).

THE IWLLEMMEDEN KEL DENNEK

The *Kel Dennek*, that is the *Eastern Iwllemmeden* around Tawa, have been described in detail by Nicolas who, however, is not very clear as to particulars. Apart from the class of *Ineslemen* the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg are divided into the classes of noble Tuareg (*Imazeyen*) and vassal Tuareg (*Imrad*, or *Kel Ulli*). These vassal Tuareg are politically attached to four drum-groups (*ettebel*) in which the drum-chief is elected from a noble tribe according to patrilineal rules. One of these drum-groups has a leading position, as its chief with the title of *Amenukal-n-akal* is the supreme chief of the whole *Kel Dennek* group known as *tégezé*. In addition to his drum this supreme chief (*Amenukal-n-akal*) has a burgee or flag to be used in case of a holy war and on certain ceremonial occasions such as the installation of an *Amenukal*. This flag is made of silk and is green, blue, and red in colour. The title *Amenukal* is

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with the immigration of the noble *Ti-n-Hinan* tribes which were, perhaps, related to the northern *Hawwara* Berbers. These may have influenced also the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg who possess some of the traits common to Northern Tuareg and Arabs. The *Hawwara* tribes came under Arab influence at very early stage, and they may have adopted Arab traits before they migrated southwards to settle close to the veiled *Lemta* (cf. p. 409 f.).

It is evident that the origin of pastoral political systems dates back to pre-Islamic times, but it is also very clear that political organization has been much influenced by Islam and the Arabs. With Islam and the Arabs came into political life such important classes as the *Ineslemen*, the *Echchikhen*, and the *Ichcherifen*, which has made the political organization more complex. Also introduced with Islam was the *sadakat* fee, which in its origin was a purely religious payment. It is also clear that the rules of blood-wealth payment among the Northern Tuareg (cf. p. 102) were introduced with Islam, for the Arabs of Northern Sahara, like the Northern Tuareg, give one hundred she-camels for a slain man, and the same payment is fixed by learned Islamic jurists (cf. Schram-Nielsen 1945, p. 58 f.). These rules of blood-wealth payment do not seem to have been accepted among the Ayr Tuareg where there was no fixed amount of camels to be paid for a homicide. Finally the title *Khalifa* given to tribal deputies was doubtless introduced with Islam and the Arabs. This title is used among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek*.

The problems connected with the origin of the drum-group, the most important political group, are very complicated. It is well known that the drum plays an important part as an insignia of kings and other supreme chiefs over large parts of Africa. The distribution of the drum as an insignia of kings and chiefs has been studied in some detail by Schilde and Wieschhoff, and later by Irstam (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 117 ff.; Wieschhoff 1933, p. 119 ff., map 34; Irstam 1944; p. 28, 101 ff.). Wieschhoff points out that the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in Africa, and that it mainly has this particular function in state organizations of the so-called Erytrean Cultures.

The drum which constitutes the insignia of a Tuareg drum-chief is known as *ettebel* or *eṭṭebel*. In all Tuareg groups this word is also used for "drum-group", and among the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres* it is also a title of drum-chiefs. The word *ettebel* is undoubtedly derived from the Arabic word *tobol* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1922), which is also sometimes used for Tuareg drums as it is for drums of chiefs among the Western Moors (Dubié 1947, p. 173). Formerly, the Sultan of the Fezzan also had a drum which according to Lyon was known as *tubbel*. Lyon never saw a drum of this kind but he says that they are found in all towns south of Murzuk (Lyon 1821, p. 248 f.). The drums used by Tuareg chiefs are always of a very particular form, generally known to anthropologists as "the kettle-drum", and this particular drum among the Tuareg is never used by persons other than the chiefs. For ordinary music the Tuareg have other drum types or use a wooden mortar suspended by a piece of skin. It is most interesting that the so-called kettle-drum is a very late type among the many kinds of drums found in Africa.

In regard to the distribution of kettle-drums in Africa, Sachs says that they are found in Islamic North Africa, in the Sudan, and in North-East Africa (Sachs 1929, p. 247). According to Wieschhoff kettle-drums have a more limited distribution being found only in the Sudan and in North-East Africa including Ethiopia (Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40, map 29e). As to the distribution of kettle-drums outside

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of Africa, Sachs says that they occur mainly in Islamic West Asia from where they were recently introduced to Europe and to India where terms for kettle-drums are derived from Arabic (Sachs 1923, p. 58 ff.; 1929, p. 247). Wieschhoff admits that the kettle-drums seem to have been introduced into India with Islam, but he concludes that the distribution of them in the Sudan and in North-east Africa indicates that this element belongs to the so-called North Erytrean Culture (cf. Wieschhoff 1933, p. 40 ff., map 29e).

I do not want to advance any theory about the introduction of kettle-drums into Africa, but it seems natural to consider the Tuareg drums known as *ettebel* as an Islamic trait. However we cannot be sure that the use of drums as insignia of chiefs is post-Islamic, for, as we have seen, the drum as a royal insignia is pre-Islamic in many parts of Africa.

The theory that the drums used by Tuareg chiefs are Islamic seems to agree with the fact that the custom of crowning chiefs among the Tuareg by means of a large turban or headcloth is no doubt also an Arab practice. The use of a turban to crown or install kings and supreme chiefs is rare in Africa south of the Sahara. The use of the turban for the kings of Dar Fur, Wadai, and Bornu is no doubt to be considered Islamic (cf. Schilde 1930, p. 68; Irstam 1944, p. 118), and there can also be little doubt that the use of a large turban at the installation of chiefs in Tibesti and Ennedi was originally introduced as a result of contact with the Arabs – particularly as this turban is known by the Arabic term *ḳadmul* (cf. Kronenberg 1958, p. 74 f.; Fuchs 1961, p. 52).

It is clear that Islam has greatly influenced Tuareg political organization. But we should also bear in mind that North Africa in pre-Islamic times was influenced by various high cultures which are generally known as *Old Mediterranean* (*Syrtic*) and *Young Sudanese* (*North Erytrean*). It is very possible that the first noble Tuareg who penetrated into the Sahara with their camels came from a country situated towards the East or the North-east, and we have seen that the Ayr Tuareg have traditions about their origin in these quarters (cf. p. 412 ff.). It might therefore seem natural to assume that certain traits which are grouped under the vaguely-defined *Young Sudanese Culture* have been introduced into the Sahara with the immigration of the first noble Tuareg. Lhote thinks that the sandal type known as *takalmi* was perhaps introduced from Egypt with Tuareg immigrations from that country (Lhote 1950d, p. 531). We cannot know this, but it is possible that the oldest camel-breeding nomads introduced into the Sahara certain elements of the so-called *Young Sudanese Culture*.

TUAREG SLAVERY

It is very possible that the political system of the pastoral Tuareg has been greatly influenced by slavery in the sense that slavery made the noble Tuareg less dependent on their vassals. Throughout the 19th century slavery was important to fair-skinned pastoralists of all classes. In other respects it has had little effect on the changing political relations, for slaves do not constitute a class or a true caste; they are incorporated into Tuareg society on a kinship pattern.

Slavery is still extremely important in Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer where the French military administration has done very little to abolish it. It is true that the slave-trade no longer exists, but

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

The same is perhaps the case with

583 bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *amibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igendéynen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

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(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ihgan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cottoff around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while